13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

342 [178] few more of them retain Tongan shape but have frame walls and iron roofs. The old time Tongan house has the advantage of being cool and is fairly easily built. Frame houses are costly to build and hot to live in, but they have the advantage of being generally free from insects and will stand against all but the severest winds. Most of the villagers, if they were [177] free to choose, would build for themselves a European style [185] frame house. It is the ambition of most, indeed, to possess just such a house before they die.

343 514 Practically all the dwelling-houses have an adjacent cook-house. A privy is also found on most household lots. These privies are of the type introduced by Dr. S. M. Lambert as a method of combating hookworm and other tropical 312 diseases. For the whole village there are fourteen concrete cisterns collecting rainwater from the iron roofs of adjacent dwelling-houses to supply the village with water for drinking and domestic purposes. By amicable arrangement house-holders who do not have a cistern on their lot use the water from the cisterns of close relatives or friends. The cisterns are supposed to be kept covered as a health precaution. Most [164] of them are open. As a consequence, typhoid is by no means an unknown disease.

361 342 There is one dwelling-house only outside the village limits. This is situated on the nearby plantation of its owner, a plantation which borders on the boundary of the village proper. This location of the dwelling-house may [178] well represent a survival of old-time practice when the population lived in the plantations rather than grouped together in a village unit. This grouping of the Tongan 361 commoners in villages has apparently taken place since 565 1773 and is probably due to a breakdown of central 178 authority, consequent wars and fighting, together with the 177 subsequent influence of the Christian missions and the traders.

361 491 The village is intersected by two main "roads" that lead to the beach, the plantations, to near-by villages. By "road" is meant a twenty-foot wide strip of land that is called a road, but is grass-grown for the most part with a narrow track down the middle wide enough for foot or horse travel. Round the village, these "roads" are thick in mud and hard to pass during the rainy season, even on

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

000 It has to be recognised, however, that the development of animal husbandry in Tonga on any satisfactory basis would be a big job, requiring government action and expenditure. Lack of water is a difficulty and to overcome it would involve sinking wells on an extensive scale. Fencing would also be required, along with suitable grasses and legumes for feeding. Measures would have to be instituted to control diseases, stud animals imported to improve the poor quality of the present stock, and popular education provided in the care and use of animals. Such a programme would be by no means a Utopian venture, since Europeans have shown that cattle can thrive in Tonga, and since there is every reason to believe that a flourishing animal husbandry would not only do much to improve diet, but would also have valuable repercussions on agriculture itself.

The Future of Agriculture

654 647 185 A few years ago the Director of Agriculture was moved by the deficiencies of Tongan farming to draw up an interesting and very valuable report in which he made excellent suggestions for improvement. As general measures he advocated the institution of an experimental farm (with a laboratory attached), and a greater agricultural bias in education. The experimental farm would be used for testing and distributing new crops and for improving plants and seeds. Livestock problems could also be studied, and assistance given to farmers in raising stock. In regard to education he recommended a revision of the primary syllabus, and also the establishment of an agricultural college. Specific measures were also suggested for improving existing industries. The quality of copra could be raised by forming village co-operatives to run hot-air driers, and by setting up a Copra Board [439] to impose grading standards. State assistance in providing fencing and watering facilities would develop animal husbandry, while the establishment of an abattoir, ham curing works, and butter factory would give Tongans the meat and butter they have either to import or do without.

The Director was interested not only in developing existing industries but in opening up new ones. Experiments had shown that peanuts could be profitably grown, and that tapa cloth could find an export market. Records proved that cotton and rice could be grown in Tonga, and money spent on experimenting with these crops might well lead to new products for home consumption and export. Systema-

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

tic cultivation and the adoption of proper curing methods could lead to a more plentiful and superior supply of tobacco, and might even give the country a new export. Export markets might also be found for corn, hemp, ginger, chillies, candlenuts and kava.

One or two secondary industries might also be developed. If cotton proved a practical crop, a cottage weaving industry would be a distinct possibility. Silk might be developed in the same way, since mulberries flourish in Tonga. Sugar cane flourishes too, yet no attempt has been made to extract sugar, which is imported from Fiji. A small industry could provide all the sugar the country needs, and the buffalo mills employed in North Borneo might prove suitable for this purpose. The Tongans take great pride in personal cleanliness, but cannot afford to buy much soap. There is always plenty of copra: a livestock industry would ensure ample tallow, and the country would both increase soap consumption and save foreign exchange by setting up a small soap factory.

Mr. Cottrell-Dormer made a rough estimate of the cost of his complete scheme over the ten years he considered necessary to establish it firmly. His figure was £100,000, or less than half the amount of the Kingdom's foreign investments. So far the War and other difficulties have prevented much being done to realise its very attractive possibilities. There have been recent attempts to reform agricultural education, but apart from them the only important step has been the Agricultural Organisation Act of 1940.[5]

The Director's scheme shows that much can be done to improve Tonga's farming, its export trade and its standard of living. The Agricultural Organisation Act, even if it is still in the initial and tentative stage of administration, shows that the government is conscious of the need for such improvement, and is prepared to do something about it. The institutions already set up have made a good start and

[5]This Act sought to encourage planting, to promote co-operative effort, and to control the marketing of export products. Local Producers' Associations are to be set up, under the leadership of the town officers, with the general object of improving farming, and for such specific purposes as the acquisition and operation of hot-air driers. At the same time four export boards have been established. The Banana Board has already achieved an improvement in the quality of banana exports by making inspections more thorough, and by insisting upon the use of knives for harvesting. It has also encouraged the use of locally made cases. The Copra Board is now the sole purchaser of copra and has already secured improved export quality by introducing differential prices according to grade, and by refusing to purchase green copra. These authorities are all subject to a Council of Agriculture which co-ordinates their functions, and which gives them financial aid from an Agricultural and Industrial Development Fund, established by a government loan of £1,000. The Council also acts as an advisory body to the Minister of Agriculture.

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

can develop into important agencies for the country's economic development.

Tonga differs most from other Pacific island groups in that European planters play an insignificant role in its agriculture. It has been the studied and consistent policy of the government to prevent the development of European plantations and the consequent growth of a native proletariat. No one can buy land in Tonga, and leases to Europeans are severely restricted. Less than 1,700 have been granted, and nearly all of them are for commercial or residential sites. Only 24 are for agricultural purposes, and none for an area of more than two hundred acres. These small plantations rely for their labour upon the 350 Solomon Islanders and Fijians resident in the Kingdom.

Tongan Trade

Commerce, particularly monetary commerce, is unimportant in a land of subsistence farmers. Tonga has a considerable trade in such local products as livestock, fish, vegetables, fruit, baskets, mats and tapa cloth, but it is largely unorganised and mostly on a basis of barter. The Tongan needs money for few purposes other than to pay his rent and poll tax, to subscribe to his church, and to purchase a few imported articles. The comparative unimportance of monetary transactions is shown by exports per head amounting to only £2·9 in 1938, imports per head to £2·4, and native taxes per head to £0·2.*

Imports, indeed, play a very small direct role in the Tongan standard of living. Nearly a quarter of them consist either of producers' materials —copra sacks, banana shooks, timber, cordage, and rope—or of goods which are largely for European consumption—tobacco, beer, spirits, automobiles and benzine. The significance of the imports that enter

*Statistical summary of Tonga's Foreign Trade (Tongan Gazette).

Year	Copra Exports	Average Price of Copra	Bananas	Other Exports	Total Exports	Total Imports
	£A	£A per ton	£A	£A	£A	£A
1933	105,028	9·2	—	9,419	114,447	86,007
1934	59,941	5·9	—	18,901	77,842	48,526
1935	79,003	6·6	—	11,708	90,711	68,782
1936	105,078	8·8	—	11,461	116,539	92,296
1937	158,133	13·1	4,128	2,359	164,620	137,365
1938	90,398	7·3	3,507	4,558	98,463	82,795
1939	64,545	6·1	12,026	3,249	79,820	79,696
1940	43,896	6·0	12,905	5,474	62,275	76,360
1941	25,548	6·0	24,179	6,732	56,459	71,943
1942	89,771	11·0	26,043	4,574	120,388	144,110

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

by the pressure of newly felt, and increasing necessities, arising from an extended intercourse with foreigners. But in the mean time these native prejudices must stand in the way of any scheme, of commercial enterprise, involving the employment of many hands.

In concluding our brief enumeration of the principal natural products of Tonga, it may be sufficient to say, that all the best islands contain trees which yield good timber for building purposes; but, both in variety and quantity, the supply is limited. The natives take no pains whatever to [185] increase the stock of timber-yielding trees, in those localities that are adapted to their habits. There are, it is true, certain stringent regulations respecting the felling of timber; but there is at the same time an unnecessary and reckless waste of what nature herself affords. The best and largest trees are used in the construction of canoes. *Bobaos*, the smallest class of paddling canoes, are always cut out of single trees. *Tafaagas*, the beautiful and swift canoes that are employed in fishing for the bonito and albicore, and also the *hamatefuas*, or sailing canoes having only a single hull and large outrigger, are all built of planking, in the same style as the large *kalias*. These two classes of canoes, being required in considerable numbers, involve a great waste of valuable wood, inasmuch as only two, or, at most, three planks can be obtained, from a single tree, by the native method of cutting.

The *tamanu*; (*Calophyllum Burmanni*;) the *milo*; (*Thespesia populnea*;) the *futu*; (*Barringtonia speciosa*;) the *mohemohe*; the *fetau*; and the *tavahi*, are the trees from which good and durable

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

of one or the other without diffusing its influence over the whole man, and over the whole frame of society.'

The traditional Tongan society with its social, economic and political institutions had been closely integrated with the traditional religious system. When the influential chiefs and their people accepted Christianity, the equilibrium of the old social system was undermined and changes and adjustments became inevitable. A deliberate effort was made to reconstruct Tongan society upon the new Christian beliefs and values. It was to be based only upon those old customs and traditions which the missionaries and their chiefly converts thought suitable for the new design, and it was to incorporate many new and imported elements.

The immense task of social reconstruction proved to be too formidable for the chiefly builders, who were often at a loss as to the nature of the new design. During the first two or three decades, they were forced to rely heavily upon the advice of the missionaries. These converted chiefs were already the political leaders of their various *kāinga,* and their continued reliance on the missionaries ensured that the missionaries had almost as much to do with political matters as they had with religious guidance.

There was a precedent for this, in the close alliance between the priests and chiefs in pre-missionary Tongan society. It was therefore not surprising to find the converted chiefs, who wished to pursue their politics according to Christian principles, as early as 1827, consulting the missionaries on political matters (N. Turner, Journal, 29 Nov. 1827, WMMS 1818-36, item A2833).

The result was a fusion of church and state matters. Residences for the missionaries, school buildings and churches were built and maintained by the people, often not on their own initiative, but rather 'in obedience to the command (*fekau*) of the King. Their conversion was a "mea Fakafetogia"—(a matter imposed upon them by the government)' (Whewell to Eggleston, 4 Aug. 1856, WMMSA 1852-79; item 170). Peter Turner (Journal, 24 May 1841) wrote, 'I must say that the people have done much for us since we came. They have thatched our house—and the house of Bro' Kevern. And they are about to put up a house for Bro' Wilson and a house for an academy.'

The fusion of church and state matters caused some confusion

86: Marcus E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

SUCCESSION DISPUTES AND THE POSITION OF THE NOBILITY IN MODERN TONGA

By GEORGE E. MARCUS[1]

THE Tongan nobility was created in 1875 by King George Tupou I, founder of the present royal dynasty, as part of major reforms designed to complete and stabilize the westernization of traditional Tongan society. The political centralization of Tonga, which culminated in Tupou I's proclamation of a constitutional monarchy in 1875, entailed the emancipation of the population from the control of regional, independent traditional leaders or chiefs and the concomitant undermining of the bases of both chiefly prestige and authority. Exempted from this levelling of the old chiefly establishment in the new order were 20, and eventually 33, chiefly patri-descent lines, constituted as a landed nobility and defined by legal possession of hereditary titles and estates.[2]

The nobles are heirs of a traditional chiefly heritage. This is most dramatically marked in their participation in society-wide rituals historically legitimizing the kingship, such as royal coronations, funerals, tribute presentations, and kava-drinking ceremonies. As such, they are anachronistic in modern Tongan society, where a commoner elite has developed and broad-based, but limited social mobility is possible in the context of western-derived institutions of

[1] Department of Anthropology, Rice University, Houston, Texas. The research for this paper was conducted in Tonga during three separate visits: several months in 1972, a year during 1973-1974, and a brief stay in November, 1975. My investigations were funded by a comparative research project at Harvard on law and conflict management (NIMH grant No. RO 1-MH-19531); by an NIH training fellowship, administered through the Department of Anthropology at Harvard; and by NSF grant No. BNS76-03918. I thank the government of Tonga under His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV for permission to undertake my research.

[2] In retrospect, Tupou's appointment of a privileged nobility in the midst of reforms that were designed to level traditional chiefly status and power might be considered a blunder (Latukefu, 1974, pp. 211-13). However, among Tupou's original noble appointments were the chiefs with the most numerous followings, including both Tupou's strongest supporters and opponents during his rise to hegemony. It was undoubtedly both politically expedient and necessary to give a special place and recognition to the traditional leaders on whose efforts or at least acquiescence the successful implementation of the reforms would depend. In 1875, Tupou I appointed 20 nobles at the creation of the nobility. In 1880, he appointed 10 additional titles to the nobility. He also appointed six of the ceremonial attendants or *matāpules* to hereditary titles and estates. These *matāpule* title-holders are not strictly considered nobles and do not share, for example, noble parliamentary privileges (see footnote 26). Tupou II appointed two additional noble titles. Queen Sālote appointed one further noble title in 1924. There are thus 39 sets of associated hereditary titles and estates, 33 noble and 6 *matāpule*. The Constitution of Tonga provides for the King's prerogative to appoint titles of honour and honourable distinctions, but as can be seen, limited use has been made of this prerogative by the successors of Tupou I.

[p. 220]

86: Marcus E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

state, church, and education. As a surviving, highly visible sector of legally supported hereditary privilege, offering exclusive access to sources of wealth, influence, and power within the Tongan new order, the nobles are increasingly criticized by Tongans and outside observers as a source of injustice in a society that was created on the themes of emancipation and individual liberty. The tempo of such criticisms has increased significantly since the succession in 1965 of Tupou IV, who is committed to modernization and closer relations with other regional and world governments.

Although viewed stereotypically by some as an anachronistic and conservative segment of society, the nobility in terms of the composition and activities of its membership cannot be fairly characterized so one-dimensionally. As social historians have shown for old elites in the transformations of European societies (see Moore, 1967; Stone, 1965), the composition of Tonga's hereditary nobility, although fixed and rigid in principle, has been characterized by a degree in fluidity. Further, its response to generally modernizing and liberating changes has in fact revealed some degree of flexibility and accommodation.

Issues raised in the public litigation of noble succession, a matter determined by law and the Tongan Land Court, offer a perspective on the nature of the social composition of the nobility and also on the significance of the noble title system as a determinant of social status in modern Tonga. The purpose of this paper is to present a detailed account of noble succession disputes and to discuss what these disputes indicate concerning the position of the nobility in modern Tongan society. I have described the modern social contexts and activities of the nobility elsewhere (Marcus, 1975b).

Trends of Change in Tongan Society

The Kingdom of Tonga consists of an archipelago of 150 islands with a total area of 269 square miles. These islands are just west of the International Dateline, about 430 miles southeast of Suva, Fiji, a similar distance southwest of Western Samoa, and about 1,200 miles northeast of Auckland, New Zealand.

Only about 36 islands of the archipelago are inhabited, and these are clustered in three main groups: the southern or the Tongatapu group, including the single largest island of the Kingdom, Tongatapu, on which the port capital of Nuku'alofa is located; the middle or Ha'apai group of widely scattered small islands; and the northern or Vava'u group of islands. The rapidly increasing population has been estimated to have reached 100,000. In recent years, land shortage and rising aspirations, resulting from increased contacts with the outside, have been accompanied by marked increases both in internal migration from the outer islands to Tongatapu and in temporary and permanent migration abroad to countries such as New Zealand and the United States. The Tongan economy is predominantly agricultural, based on mixed-crop production by

/29 cont./

181 European it is a particular pleasure to listen to the well-formulated
537 speech of an older--or even younger--native often delivered with
brilliant rhetoric. The ability to speak freely and with self-
[212] assurance which is characteristic of most of these islanders is im-
pressive, and it has not been lost in spite of the almost universal
knowledge of reading and writing. Through the "liberation" of the
181 commoners who were able to move up to more important positions in-
565 volving the need to make speeches ("town officer," /cited in English/
178 "district officer," /cited in English/ preacher, lay preacher, teacher,
177 host and guests at festivities), the circle of speakers has been
537 considerably enlarged resulting in having the European influence
contribute indirectly to the furthering of this rather general gift.

181 These natives were and are quite intelligent. With their
153 intellectual gifts they outdo some of the other South Sea peoples,
which is evidenced, for example, by numerous examinations in the
Central Medical School /cited in English/ in Fiji where some of the
native intelligentsia of the British South Sea colonies is concentrated
and where Tongans were frequently able to attain first place. The
superior intelligence of this people has been shown in the past and at
present by their great interest in learning and their special ability
to take on something new. Interested in virtually everything strange
181 and new, regarding European knowledge as the key to recognition and
153 rank among their compatriots, almost all Tonga strive to absorb
185 everything that can be learned, and even on the smallest islands the
goal youngsters strive for is to be allowed, after their village
school, to attend a college on Tongatapu, whereas parents, often
through certain privations, take pride in helping their children
receive this education. (50)

[565] 50. The "liberation" of the commoners
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/29 cont./

undoubtedly increased ambition, the thirst for knowledge, and eagerness to learn in Tonga; see also the chapter "Knowledge" p. 413 ff.

Just as the Tongan in the past was willing to take over from the Fiji, for example, essential elements of the art of war, (51)

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51. J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 72/73

boat building, (52)

52. Idem., loc, cit. II. p. 275.

the treatment of wounds, (53)

53. Idem., loc, cit. II. p. 242.

and the language, (54)

54. W.C. McKern, "Archaeology of Tonga" /cited in English/., B.P.B.M. Bulletin 60. Honolulu 1929. p. 122.

from the Samoans, for example, dances (55)

55. J. Martin, loc, cit, II. p. 330/331.

and songs, (56)

56. Idem., loc. cit. II. p. 333.

so he proved himself very skillful, in the course of his contact with the European culture, /30/ in learning and copying in the various areas of everyday life. (57)

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57. Often one notes a positive desire and joy in copying; for example, in April 1952 on Lifuka the author met a Tongan road worker in in the bush who had plaited hats from halved young palm leaves in the shape of European sun helmets (helemeti) and policemen's caps (tata fakapolisi).

[153] These islanders are not only quite skillful (58)

58. That is, the majority, not all of them. Just as among other peoples there are practical and impractical types, here too there are impractical natives to be met in their own Tongan life, alongside the aston-

/279 cont./

truly beneficial only for the small group of natives who find employment in the government, in the church or in trade.

The transmission of European knowledge outside the schools is very slight. There is no Tongan secular literature. The natives have few radios. Newspapers and magazines only occasionally come into the hands of the Tongans. In Nuku'alofa/Tongatapu and Neiafu/Vava'u they can see films in small cinemas. The few natives working among whites (missionaries, teachers, physicians, administrative employees, traders), as attentive observers, become acquainted with all kinds of European ideas. But the majority of Tongan men and women, after having attended school, are dependent for an increase in their knowledge on face-to-face conversations, especially at the evening kava circles in the villages; and in this case actual knowledge is mixed with exaggerated tales and wild rumors.

Seen as a whole, the natives of this Archipelago doubtless know more than is needed for life on their small islands. /280/ This is not to be traced back solely to the school system as such, but actually to the lively eagerness to learn on the part of many Tongans. Their pleasure in learning is above all the result of the natives' so typical interest in everything new and worth knowing. Added to that is the desire to share in the superior world of the whites. Moreover, since "education" has become a measure of value within the community, the desire for recognition of the individual strengthens the general eagerness to learn. Ultimately this is also very much furthered by democratization, since commoners are now able to achieve special positions through proper training. Almost the entire population of the Archipelago has a positive attitude toward the modern school system. Most elementary pupils probably have the ambition to go on to one of the very respected colleges, (759)

759. After their final examination the young natives

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185 /280 cont./ often do not want to return home, but try to stay in college. and their parents, who see in such an education an honor for their children, support them as much as they can by providing them with the means for this school attendance. Many of the older people regard the present time as "the golden age of education" and strive to help the young people towards an education which they themselves were unable to obtain; in some villages there have even been small groups who in a planned way (for example, by raising funds through their copra sales or the breeding and sale of pigs) collect money with which young people from the settlements are to be sent to colleges on the main island or to schools abroad. This open-mindedness of a largely farming population is amazing, and it gives one a strange feeling to find, for example, on one of the smallest islands of the Archipelago, an old man in a lonely hut on plantation land who is able to write his name and read printed matter in the Tongan language perfectly.

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464 The schooling of these natives, which is certainly too generous in view of their ordinary conditions, does not, from all appearances, have a harmful influence on their character. The young people who have gone to college and then, after a successful final examination, return to their small home island because they are unable to find an opening in any of the higher positions (especially in administration, health, education and the church), usually take up the work of their fathers as a matter of course; they become farmers, and they are generally neither arrogant because they know more than most of their fellow-villagers, nor are they discontent because they /281/ cannot apply their diverse knowledge; rather, they differ from the natives of the same age who have attended only the elementary school by a more modest and courteous conduct. These returnees, however, do not have a noticeable influence on the community.